

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTO 2058

NODIS/CHEROKEE

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - (CAPTIONS)

FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY VANCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, JO, US
SUBJECT: MY MEETINGS IN JORDAN

1. I WAS RECEIVED WITH WARM AND GENUINE FRIENDSHIP DURING MY VISIT TO AMMAN DESPITE KING HUSSEIN'S RECENT TRAGEDY, WHICH HAS OBVIOUSLY AFFECTED HIM DEEPLY, AND THE FACT THAT THE STORY HAD JUST BROKEN IN THE WASHINGTON POST ABOUT CIA PAYMENTS TO HUSSEIN OVER THE YEARS. THE LATTER HAS LEFT THE KING IN SOME DOUBT ABOUT OUR FUTURE RELATIONSHIP.

2. THE KING REITERATED A NUMBER OF TIMES HIS DESIRE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH US FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ADDING SOMEWHAT POIGNANTLY AT ONE POINT, WITH CLEAR REFERENCE TO HIS WIFE'S RECENT DEATH, THAT "THIS IS ALL THAT IS LEFT FOR ME TO LIVE FOR." THE KING ACCEPTED WITH PLEASURE YOUR INVITATION TO WASHINGTON AND SAID HE LOOKED FORWARD WITH PRIDE AND ANTICIPATION TO MEETING YOU.

3. IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH HUSSEIN AND HIS CLOSEST ADVISERS, THE BULK OF WHICH WERE DEVOTED TO REVIEWING THE QUESTION OF
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A MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT, I FOUND THE KING DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT OVER-OPTIMISM IN THE AREA REGARDING PROSPECTS FOR A PEACE SETTLEMENT. WHILE ENCOURAGED ABOUT THE PRESENT UNIFYING AND MODERATING TRENDS IN THE ARAB WORLD, HUSSEIN BELIEVED THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE NOT PREPARED TO MAKE THE NECESSARY TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS, THAT TIME WILL BEGIN TO RUN OUT AND THAT RADICAL FORCES WILL BEGIN TO REASSERT THEMSELVES

IN THE AREA. HE IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN EGYPT. AT THE SAME TIME HE AGREED THAT IT WAS NOT REALISTIC TO THINK OF CONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BEFORE FALL OF THIS YEAR. HE SAID HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO TO A GENEVA CONFERENCE IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1977.

4. HUSSEIN SAID THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WAS FOR THE ARABS TO KNOW WHERE THEY WERE GOING -- WHAT A FINAL SETTLEMENT WOULD HOLD FOR THEM. ONCE THIS WAS CLEAR, THERE WOULD THEN BE TIME TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF A SETTLEMENT AND THE STAGES OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION. THE U.S., HE SAID, HAS A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN THIS RESPECT. SO FAR AS THE ELEMENTS OF A SETTLEMENT ARE CONCERNED, HUSSEIN HAD THE FOLLOWING TO SAY. ON THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION, THERE SHOULD BE FULL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL BORDERS WITH EGYPT AND SYRIA. ON THE WEST BANK, HE AGREED THERE COULD BE MINOR, RECIPROCAL RECTIFICATIONS. FOR JERUSALEM HE FAVORS A CONCEPT OF DUAL SOVEREIGNTY IN A UNIFIED CITY. IN DISCUSSING THE NATURE OF PEACE, HUSSEIN MADE IT CLEAR HE IS PREPARED TO GO VERY FAR IN THE DIRECTION OF THE KIND OF NORMAL RELATIONS WHICH THE ISRAELIS CONSIDER SO IMPORTANT. SO FAR AS THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IS CONCERNED, HUSSEIN SAID THERE MUST BE A PALESTINIAN PARTNER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, PERHAPS THROUGH PARTICIPATION IN AN ALL ARAB DELEGATION AS SYRIA HAS SUGGESTED. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS IN THE FIRST INSTANCE A PROBLEM FOR THE ARABS TO WORK OUT IN A WAY THAT WOULD MAKE THE PALESTINIANS AN ACCEPTABLE PART OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE ENVISAGES A JORDANIAN/PALESTINIAN FEDERATION AS THE BEST SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE IN A FINAL SETTLEMENT. HE CLEARLY DOES NOT
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HAVE A HIGH OPINION OF THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP OF THE PLO WHICH HE SEES AS DIVIDED, UNREPRESENTATIVE, AND PROBABLY DUE FOR CHANGES IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

5. IN DISCUSSING HIS CONCEPT OF JORDAN'S ROLE IN THE AREA, HUSSEIN SAID HE THOUGHT HE COULD CONTRIBUTE LONG-RUN STABILITY AND MODERATION AND, WITH THIS IN MIND, HE WAS EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITIES OF CLOSER COOPERATION WITH SYRIA, PERHAPS EVEN OF A FEDERATION WHICH COULD BECOME THE NUCLEUS OF A BROADER FEDERATION OF MODERATES.

6. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUERY, HUSSEIN PAINTED A DARK PICTURE OF THE SITUATION IN IRAQ AND OF THE IRAQI POTENTIAL FOR SUBVERSION OF MODERATE REGIMES. HE THOUGHT IT WORTHWHILE KEEPING OPEN CHANNELS OF DIALOGUE WITH IRAQ BUT AGREED THAT ANY MOVES TOWARD IRAQ BY THE U.S. WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY HANDLED IN ORDER NOT TO CAUSE PROBLEMS TO OUR OTHER FRIENDS SUCH AS SYRIA. VANCE

NOTE: UPGRADED TO NODIS/CHEROKEE PER TOSEC 020153

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